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MASTER-LIST

A HISTORY OF LUTHERANISM IN BALTIMORE AND VICINITY

by

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A speech delivered before the Baltimore Area Lutheran pastors at St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church, 4215 Loch Raven Boulevard, Baltimore, Maryland, on April 18, 1961, as a part of the Lutheran Planning Study being conducted by the Reverend Walter Kloetzli, Urban Church Planning, National Lutheran Council, 327 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.

This paper is presented with the hope of shedding light on the present situation in and among the Lutheran churches of Baltimore. If we would understand the situation in which we find ourselves today it will be helpful, first of all, to take a look at our long-range heritage.

In general the history of the Christian churches in Baltimore runs parallel with the history of American Christianity as a whole, and the history of Lutheranism in Baltimore runs parallel with the history of other Christian groups in the City. But there are important variants and they shed light on our present situation.

Already in the very beginnings of the colony of Maryland, and the earliest settlement of Lord Baltimore's town, we have a unique situation. One unique characteristic was the role that Roman Catholics played in the colony and the city. George Calvert had been a member of the Church of England until he was 45 years old. For many years he had also been a member of the House of Commons. Then, because he favored the project of his king (James I) to marry a Spanish woman, he became very unpopular in the House of Commons. In 1625 he resigned from the House, became a Roman Catholic, and was appointed by the King to the House of Lords as Lord Baltimore. He was about to receive from the King (now Charles I) a charter to a grant of land in northern Virginia when he died at the age of 52.

The charter was issued to his son Cecil Calvert, also a Catholic and a Lord, and when the new colony was carved out of Virginia (named for the Protestant Virgin Queen Elizabeth) and was named Mary Land for the King's grandmother, the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots, it was as though the dead hand of the romantic Catholic Mary had reached up from the grave and stretched out across the Ocean to pluck a domain from the hand of her stern Protestant cousin Elizabeth who had signed the warrant for Mary's execution nearly fifty years before. For that Mary Land became the seat of the first Roman Catholic diocese on the Western continent.

Another unique characteristic in the beginning of our colony and City lay in the fact that Lord Baltimore transferred a complete feudal manorial system to the new colony on the Severn and the Patapsco. He gave large tracts of land to his Roman Catholic friends, who belonged to the Catholic Aristocracy of Britain. These aristocratic barons were lords of their "plantations" in Maryland, and they ex-

ploited both the soil and those who tilled it for them. They raised and exported tobacco, and for a time the port of Annapolis rivalled or surpassed Philadelphia in the volume of its trade. The Marylanders imported many types of British luxury that to this day characterize the social life of the City.

But the second Lord Baltimore could not have built an economy out of aristocrats alone. In order to secure the kind of people needed to maintain a colony, he had to lure Protestants into the enterprise. And so it was that from the beginning of the colony in 1634 the Protestants, mostly members of the Church of England, outnumbered the wealthy Catholic land-owners. After Lord Baltimore in 1638 set up a bicameral legislature, these Protestant farmers in the lower house threatened to dominate that body, and so in self-defense the Catholics helped the Protestants to pass the famous Toleration Act of 1649. This piece of legislation is often interpreted out of its context. Roman Catholics today refer to this Act as an outstanding example of their enduring love of political freedom and religious toleration. To this writer it appears to be only a prudential bit of skilful Jesuit tactics employed to prevent the prospective Protestant majority in the little legislature from using its political strength to stamp out the Catholic minority. It was a device of expediency. But, whatever its motivation, the Act of 1649 opened the door for Puritans and Quakers from neighboring colonies and they came in generous numbers. This was the third strand in the cultural foundations of the colony.

More important for our study was the fourth strand of colonial settlers. They came from the colonies on the north of Maryland, and not before 1730, nearly a century after the first settlement had been made at St. Mary's on the Severn. By this time the proprietor of Maryland, the fifth Lord Baltimore, was a Protestant. The new type of settlers in the colony, beginning about 1730, were also Protestants, Lutherans, Reformed, and Presbyterians. They came to America originally from the farming stock of Germany and Scotland and England. The Catholics were still the wealthy and aristocratic minority in the colony. The Anglicans had become prosperous, but in their status in Maryland they had suffered from the political changes and disturbances in the mother country. They lived mostly in the counties south of Baltimore and on the Eastern Shore. The third strand, the dissenters, Puritans and Quakers, were concentrated on the Eastern Shore. The new group of settlers who arrived in the 18th century came mostly from Pennsylvania and settled the counties in the north and west of the colony. They were hard-working thrifty farmers and they laid the foundations for the economic strength of the state of Maryland and the city of Baltimore. Industrially they were growers of wheat, and before 1750 and the beginning of the first Lutheran congregation, the flour trade had surpassed the trade in tobacco as the chief industry in the town and its surrounding county. The legislature now appropriated big sums of money for repairing roads from the counties west of Baltimore bordering on Pennsylvania. These latest arrivals in Maryland were not untried immigrants. They had already had some taste of American life, and they knew how to take ecclesiastical affairs into their own hands.

Now the city of Baltimore grew rapidly. The chief accessions came from the outlying counties, the thrifty wheat-growers and flour-millers of the northern and western counties, who were German Lutherans and Reformed or Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and the prosperous ship-builders and traders of the upper Eastern Shore, who were Anglicans, Puritans, and Quakers. It has often been said that "Baltimore is a Catholic city and Maryland is a Catholic state". This statement is quite generally accepted as a fact, even by Protestant leaders, and it is generally attributed to the situation at the time of the earliest settlement and to the conditions in colonial times. There is no warrant for this in the facts

Gaylord

of history or in the figures of the statistician. There never was a time in the history of Baltimore or of Maryland as a whole when the Catholic population was a majority of the total population. So far as numbers are concerned Baltimore was a Protestant town from the beginning. The Catholics themselves deplored the fact. Father White, writing about the first three hundred settlers, said "the heretics are more numerous than we are". And throughout colonial times the Catholics numbered less than one-tenth of the population of the state, and up to the Civil War less than one-fifth, and today only about one-third. If it is true that a Catho- minority dominates the State or the City, it must be attributed to elements of serious weakness among the Protestant forces and to the strength of Jesuit diplomacy particularly as exercised by Cardinal Gibbons.

With this background let us turn to the specific history of Baltimore Lutheranism. At the close of the colonial period and the beginning of the American Republic, Baltimore had a population of 13,500. There was only one Lutheran Church, Zion. It had been organized in 1755, and for nearly seventy years it was the only Lutheran congregation in the City. This time-span of seventy years is more than one-third of the total history of Lutheranism in Baltimore, and it will therefore serve our purpose to pause for a look at the early history of this one congregation.

It was the mother church of Lutheranism in Baltimore. It was not the first Lutheran congregation in the State of Maryland. It was seventeen years younger than the Lutheran congregation on the Monacacy (now the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Frederick) and at least eight years younger than the Lutheran Church on the Conococheaque (now St. John's in Hagerstown). But for our purpose here Zion of Baltimore was the first and for nearly three quarters of a century the only Lutheran congregation.

In the old German Kirchen-Archiv of Zion Church, we find, in the handwriting of Dr. Charles Frederick Wiesenthal, this opening statement: "A few years after the town of Baltimore was laid out (1729), several German families betook themselves thither to live, of which Vitus Hartweg, harness-maker was the very first. They were mostly of our Lutheran confession. They were too few to establish a congregation, although after some time more, both Lutherans and Reformed gathered there. Therefore, the members of both confessions had to put up with sermons of itinerant preachers, often of bad reputation and conduct."

A few of these newcomers were recent arrivals from Germany, having come through the port of Annapolis. But most of them were from the German settlements of Pennsylvania, especially from York County. They were pious people and very desirous of holding their own services of worship. But as Maryland was still a colony of the British crown, these Lutherans belonged legally to St. Paul's parish of the Anglican Church, and each one had to pay his annual tax of forty pounds for the support of the Anglican clergy. However, they had their German Bibles and hymn-books, their copies of Luther's Catechism and of John Arndt's True Christianity, and with these they held German services in their humble homes. After 1750 they were allowed for a few years to hold their services in St. Paul's church, and in these services they were joined by their Reformed brethren. But when the German Protestants allowed themselves to be imposed on by itinerant ecclesiastical vagabonds, of whom the record says that they were "often of bad reputation and conduct", the Anglicans withdrew permission to use St. Paul's church. Again the Lutherans held services regularly in their homes, but more than ever they longed for an ordained minister "of good report" who would preach to them regularly, conduct their weddings and funerals, and administer the sacraments, all in their own German tongue.

1755?

In 1775 the outbreak of the French and Indian War brought it about that the little Lutheran flock of eleven souls in the young town of Baltimore had the services of a regular minister. Pastor John George Bager, who lived at Conewago (near Hanover, Pa.), had been serving the scattered Lutherans of the four border counties of Pennsylvania. When the outbreak of war closed his access to most of his circuit, he agreed to minister regularly to the little group in Baltimore, and for the next three years he rode 120 miles every two months to give them spiritual ministry. Until Pastor Bager came, the Lutherans had been worshipping with their fellow Germans of the Reformed persuasion, but now they decided to organize their own congregation founded on "the Augsburg Confession" and called the "Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation at Baltimore Town". This was in 1755, about fifty years after St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal church was erected and fifteen years before the Catholics built their first church in Baltimore. There were several intelligent and active laymen in the congregation and they proceeded at once to plan for their own house of worship. In 1758 they acquired the land, and four years later they had erected the building. The date on the present Parish House of Zion Church refers to the beginning of the congregation, not of the building. The funds for the building were secured through a lottery, a method employed in those days by other denominations and by many non-religious organizations. The name of the congregation was changed in 1785 to Zion.

During the rest of the colonial period and until the beginning of the American Republic, the life of the congregation several times hung by a thin thread. Pastor Bager, after three years of bi-monthly services from Hanover, found the trip so arduous and his duties in Pennsylvania so engaging that he had to end his visits to Maryland. Then for five years (1758-1763) the congregation had services every six weeks by a young pastor, John Caspar Kirchner, whose main obligation was a parish of several small congregations in York County, further east than Hanover. It was during this period that land was secured and a wooden church erected, not without unpleasant experiences with the Reformed in the town. Shortly after the first building was completed, Pastor Kirchner accepted a call in Pennsylvania whose obligations made it impossible to serve the Baltimore congregation. For the next two years they were again dependent upon occasional visits from Pastor Bager.

In 1765 Pastor Kirchner bought himself a small plantation near Baltimore with the expectation of retiring from the ministry, but his friends in Zion Church prevailed on him to come among them and accept their call as permanent pastor. Now the congregation had its own resident pastor and its own church building and was in a position to establish a firmer legal position. A parochial school was begun and a formal constitution was adopted. This was in 1769 and the membership now numbered forty. After eight years of service as resident pastor, in 1773 Kirchner died and was succeeded by John Siegfried Gerock.

Pastor Gerock had served in Lancaster for fourteen years and in New York City for six years. During his thirteen years at Zion in Baltimore the congregation experienced rapid growth. Pastor Gerock gave the congregation even firmer organization than it had under Pastor Kirchner. He revised the constitution in 1773 and it was subscribed by 147 persons, more than three times the number that had subscribed four years earlier. The wooden house of worship was torn down and replaced with a brick structure of much larger dimensions. Twelve years later, in 1785 it was necessary to enlarge the church with an addition that was larger than the church itself had been. At the dedication of this annex the sermon was preached by a young man, John Daniel Kurtz. He was at once called to be the second pastor of the congregation, as Pastor Gerock was now bending

Gaylord

under the weight of the years. Two years later, in 1787, Kurtz became the regular pastor and so continued for forty-seven years.

This brings our history of Baltimore Lutheranism to the end of the colonial period and the beginning of a new period that covers the forty years from 1790 to 1830. This period we call the era of nationalism because it was marked by the cutting of European ties and the growth of a distinctively American spirit. This attitude of independence was manifest in politics and in economics, in the realm of the intellectual and in religious life. There was rapid increase in population and striking growth of cities and towns. Baltimore grew from 13,505 to 80,602. Everywhere there was much cooperation among the Christian denominations, even between Protestants and Catholics. There were also many problems for the churches, such as unionism, rationalism, and language problems. Lutherans shared in all these characteristics of the era of nationalism.

For most of this period Zion Church continued to be the only home and rallying-point of Lutheranism in Baltimore, and through the whole of the period John Daniel Kurtz continued to be the pastor of Zion Church. Two qualities characterized Baltimore Lutheranism during the forty years of nationalism. One was the consistently evangelical tone of the pulpit and the devotional life and worship of the congregation. The other was the broad outreach of pastor and people, the lifting of their sights to the wider horizons of state and nation. Both of these elements emanated largely from the personality of the pastor.

Dr. Kurtz has been called "the greatest figure in Zion's history", and this could be extended to read "the greatest figure in the Lutheranism of Baltimore from its beginning in 1755 for eighty years or until 1835". Kurtz was trained in the pietistic Muhlenberg tradition, a warm-hearted, broad-guage, practical-minded, orthodox Lutheran. He was a son of that immigrant John Nicholas Kurtz whose ordination in 1748 Muhlenberg had made the occasion to establish the first Lutheran synod in America, now called the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Daniel Kurtz had received his training for the ministry partly from his father in the parsonage in York and partly from Muhlenberg's son in the parsonage in Lancaster. Gerock, his predecessor at Zion, was married to Kurtz's sister.

Daniel Kurtz was an impressive German preacher, a faithful pastor, and an energetic administrator. He served Zion for forty-seven years and transformed the struggling young congregation into a stronghold of Lutheranism. In 1808 a great new building was erected. The busy pastor sought out the unsaved and the unchurched in the growing city and brought hundreds of them into Zion, and the congregation grew rapidly. Before his retirement he had baptized more than 5000 persons.

It was largely through the influence of Daniel Kurtz that during this period of nationalism the Lutheran congregations of the land began to take on the aspects of a nation-wide church. As a young man he had learned to lift his sights beyond the parochial view. In 1786, the year after he was ordained, the Pennsylvania Synod commissioned him and his brother-in-law Gerock to make a missionary tour of the congregations and unorganized Lutherans in Maryland and Virginia, a tour that young Kurtz repeated the following year. This experience led him, thirty-four years later when he was pastor of the only Lutheran church in the largest city of Maryland, to take the lead in organizing the Synod of Maryland and Virginia. This was completed in 1820 at Winchester. In this action he was motivated partly by his opposition to the rationalistic influences emanating from Germany and imported among the Lutherans of New York and Pennsylvania.

Because of his own Pennsylvania background and his personal friendship with the Muhlenbergs, he was able to accomplish the organization of a new synod out of the territory of the Pennsylvania Synod without disrupting his amicable relations with the mother synod. For the first four conventions of the new synod he was its president and for many years longer its guiding light.

At the same time that the pastor of Zion Church was taking the lead in organizing a new synod that would include Zion Church, he was also taking the national outlook and helping to lay plans for a general organization of Lutherans that would include both the Pennsylvania Synod and the new synod of which Zion Church was now a part. This plan for a General Synod was adopted in 1819 when the Pennsylvania Synod was meeting in Zion Church, and the next year, when the General Synod was organized at Hagerstown, it embraced New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Maryland and Virginia, and Dr. Kurtz was elected its first president. He was twice re-elected to this office and in this capacity he had a degree of responsibility for about 45,000 Lutherans on the North American continent. The formation of the General Synod served notice that the Lutherans of America had come to America to stay and to become an integral part of the American nation. Like the Monroe Doctrine it was a vigorous echo of the declaration of independence, in this case ecclesiastic independence.

Another long step forward in the history of Lutheranism in Baltimore was taken near the end of this period. In 1824 a second Lutheran congregation was organized. It was called the English Lutheran Church of Baltimore, today the First Lutheran Church. As early as 1772 Dr. Charles Frederick Wiesenthal, the gifted lay leader in Zion Church, had advocated the toleration of some English services for the on-coming generation. That was a hope that was long deferred. Forty years later Dr. Daniel Kurtz realized that the issue could no longer be evaded, and he asked his nephew, Benjamin Kurtz, to become his assistant and to conduct English services occasionally. This arrangement, however, continued only a few months, when the younger Kurtz was called to Hagerstown. Now an aggressive faction in Zion began to agitate for a permanent English-speaking assistant, and when they were outvoted they withdrew from Zion, formed their own congregation, joined the Maryland Synod, built their own church on Lexington Street just east of Howard, organized a Sunday School, and in 1827 called as their first resident pastor the Rev. J. G. Morris, who had just completed his studies with the first class of Gettysburg Seminary. The new congregation at its first communion in 1827 listed thirty-five communing members. And so, seventy years after the first Lutheran congregation had been organized in Baltimore, the second was established.

This means that at the end of the period of nationalism, about 1830, Baltimore Lutheranism had made the first faint beginnings of the transition to the English language in its services of worship, with all that this implies concerning the process of Americanization. At the same time Baltimore Lutheranism had become a focus of American Lutheranism in general, in this respect second only to Philadelphia.

This brings us to the third chapter in our story. It covers the forty years from 1830 to 1870. It was a time of great waves of immigration from Europe and rapid expansion of the nation westward across the Alleghenies. The social landscape of the expanding nation began to show wide diversities in every field of interest. The tendency toward union and cooperation among the churches had run its course. Loyalty to one's own church once more came to be regarded as a virtue, and this virtue was cultivated at the expense of love for all Christian

Gaylord

brethren. So there developed a sectarian spirit among the churches, which ran parallel with the sectional spirit in the nation. In national life it led to Civil War, and in ecclesiastical life it led to sharp controversies among denominations and within denominations, parting of former allies, and actual disruption. During the Civil War period the Lutheran churches divided North and South, not on the real issues of the War, nullification and secession, but on what was made to appear as the real issue, the matter of slavery. Then, right after the War, The General Synod at the North split into two fragments, the General Council and the General Synod, not on the real issues, which were personal and linguistic, but on what was made to appear as the real issue, the matter of doctrine and confession.

This process of bifurcation was further complicated by the rush of Lutheran immigration from the Lutheran lands of Europe, depositing on American shores a new generation greater than the entire Lutheran population of the Republic at its birth. Some of these newcomers were imbued with a double portion of the spirit of confessionalism, a fiery zeal for the whole body of Lutheran doctrine, and an intense degree of pious ardor that gave extraordinary power of propagandism. Most of these newly arrived Lutherans (who called themselves "Old Lutherans") went to the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, but some of them remained in the East, specifically in Baltimore. Here they imbibed at once the spirit of factionalism that was abroad in the land and promptly threw themselves into the controversies and strife and disruptions among the Lutherans of the East. In this way they helped bring the Lutherans of Baltimore abreast with the factious spirit prevailing among other Christian groups in Baltimore, including the Catholics of the City.

If I were using the biological analogy in this sketch I should call this middle period of the nineteenth century the period of adolescence in Baltimore Lutheranism, the period of growing pains. For it is a fact that in spite of all the pains of controversy and sectarianism among Lutheran groups in the City, and between Lutherans and other Christians, Lutheranism did grow and expand in Baltimore during these forty years. While the general population of the City grew more than threefold, from 80,000 to 260,000, the number of Lutheran congregations grew ninefold. This was largely due to the influence of the new leader who had arisen to take the place long held by J. Daniel Kurtz in the early period of our narrative. I refer, of course, to John G. Morris.

The leadership among Baltimore Lutherans had now passed from the Mother Church, "Old Zion" as it was now called. Briefly we can say that the withdrawal of the English faction in 1824 was a blow, that a new assistant to Dr. Kurtz, Uhlhorn by name, taught radical ideas that nullified the evangelical positions of Dr. Kurtz, and that this was followed by the withdrawal of those who were orthodox but who wanted to continue with German services. Then in 1835 the congregation, now under the leadership of rationalistic immigrants, called to the pulpit the Rev. Heinrich Scheib. His was a very long pastorate that extended almost to the end of the nineteenth century. For sixty-two years Pastor Scheib taught pure rationalism from the pulpit and made Old Zion (often called "Scheib's Church") into a rallying point for German nationalists and rationalists and created something like a Unitarian church. In 1843 the Mother Church formally severed its nominal ties with the Maryland Synod, and for 110 years remained apart from all Lutheran connections. Thus the leadership among Lutherans in the City devolved about 1830 upon the English Lutheran congregations, chiefly upon the First English Lutheran Church and her young pastor, John Gottlieb Morris.

Dr. Morris was the personal connecting link between Baltimore Lutheranism of the eighteenth century and that of the twentieth century. In his early ministry at First Lutheran Church he became a great admirer and firm friend of the venerable Dr. Kurtz. Dr. Kurtz was so deeply disappointed with the tragic turn of events at Old Zion that he transferred his membership to young Morris' congregation in 1832 and so continued for twenty-four years until his death in 1856 at the age of ninety-three. Dr. Morris continued in Dr. Kurtz's spirit in Baltimore until 1895, when he died at the age of ninety-two. Together they virtually dominated Baltimore Lutheranism from 1785 to 1895, a period of one hundred and ten years.

Dr. Morris was a native of York, and his entire youth was spent under the ministry of Dr. J. G. Schmucker. His pastor's son, Dr. S. S. Schmucker, less than five years older than Morris, was his intellectual mentor, first in the York County Academy and later in the Gettysburg Seminary. In his theological and ecclesiastical views Morris was strongly influenced by the Kurtzes and the Schmuckers. For thirty-three years he was pastor of the First English Lutheran Church in Baltimore, and for nearly forty years more he continued to be the nestor of Baltimore Lutheranism and one of the most distinguished and influential figures in the General Synod. He lived much longer than the Kurtzes and the Schmuckers and so went much further with the conservatizing trends in the doctrinal positions of Lutherans in America. He, more than any other person during the second half of the nineteenth century, infused among the Lutherans of Baltimore the spirit of theological conservatism and the spirit of church extension that was so characteristic of that period. For half a century his voice in Baltimore and in the Maryland Synod and in the General Synod had the weight and wisdom of age. His vigor as a writer, his strong pulpit power, and his forceful personality brought it about that for nearly fifty years every important project in the Maryland Synod either originated with him or waited for his approval. He was actively interested in all the general work of the Church, but he was particularly zealous in the work of education and publication. He promoted the establishment of new Lutheran congregations in Baltimore, was chiefly instrumental in founding the Lutheran Observer, and for decades in succession dominated the Schmucker institutions at Gettysburg, the Seminary and the College.

With this kind of leadership among Baltimore Lutherans in this period, with the increase in the City's population, with the rapid growth in industry and the geographical expansion of the City, and with the influx of a host of new citizens of Lutheran background, Baltimore Lutheranism was sure to grow and sure to develop its loyalty to distinctive Lutheran traditions.

One more fact is very important for our present study. I refer to the fact that in this middle period of the nineteenth century other families of Lutherans, outside the Muhlenberg development, began to establish congregations in Baltimore and its environs. This brought an element of tension into the ranks of Baltimore Lutherans. This was during the Civil War period, but it was not the Civil War issues that caused the division. The atmosphere of Baltimore was in some respects quite southern, and the State of Maryland did supply some troops for the Southern Army, but the State as a whole and the City of Baltimore remained loyal to the Federal government and they were not disrupted by the War. The Lutherans of Baltimore saw the two sides of the issues involved in the War and many of them wavered in their position, but just as the Lutherans of the Middle West had helped to elect Lincoln to the presidency because of their opposition to slavery, so in the end the Lutherans of Baltimore, because of their antipathy to slavery, remained loyal to the North. They continued with the General Synod and helped to strengthen the conservatizing tendency in that body. When, right after the close of the

Gaylord

War, the split took place in the ranks of the General Synod, and the General Council was formed, the Lutherans of Baltimore all remained in the General Synod.

No, the division in the ranks of Baltimore Lutheranism was caused by the formation here of congregations that belonged to bodies organized or dominated by the new type of Lutheranism that immigration brought to our country in this period. By 1870, the end of this period, there were four congregations of this kind belonging to the joint Synod of Ohio, and five belonging to the Missouri Synod, alongside the twelve belonging to the Maryland Synod of the General Synod. Let us take a brief look at the circumstances under which these "new Lutherans" and their congregations appeared on the religious landscape of Baltimore and its vicinity.

The Synod of Ohio started in 1818. Before that the Lutheran congregations in Ohio were a special conference of the Ministerium, and the Ohio Synod was therefore part of the Muhlenberg development. But in the 1840's German immigrants into Ohio changed the constituency of that Synod, and the descendents of the Muhlenberg line, now largely anglicized, separated and formed other synods which joined the General Synod and the General Council. These were the East Ohio Synod (1836), the Miami Synod (1844), and the Wittenberg Synod (1847), all of which joined the General Synod, and the District Synod of Ohio (1857), which afterwards joined the General Council. This left the Joint Synod of Ohio to consist entirely of Germans who were related to Missouri in language and theology. Soon the men of the Joint Synod broke with Missouri on doctrine. Then they began to reach out far beyond Ohio and to cultivate fellowship with other German Lutherans, whose theology would not rhyme either with that of the Muhlenberg Lutherans or with that of Missouri. In this process they established "outposts of true Lutheranism", as they regarded them, in a number of eastern cities, even where other Lutheran bodies were already firmly ensconced. For, this was a time when Lutherans, like other Christian groups in America and indeed all over the western world, were quite ready to set up opposition pulpits and opposition altars. Among the cities thus invaded was Baltimore. Sometimes the men from Ohio took over congregations already established, and they did this by appealing to German loyalties, German traditions, and German practices over against their English-speaking brethren. More often they gathered into congregations the families of the recent immigrants who had taken up residence in Baltimore or its environs and who were not attracted or even invited into the English services of the older Lutheran congregations.

Among these we have (in present-day greater Baltimore):

1848 - St. James, Rockdale (now 8303 Liberty Road)
1859 - St. Michael's, Perry Hall, 9534 Bel Air Road
1862 - St. Peter's, Fullerton, 7906 Bel Air Road
1867 - St. Mark's, Broadway and Fairmount Ave., (separated from St. Matthew's (E. & R.) which left Trinity in 1852 at Exeter and Stiles Streets)

The Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States was not the only Lutheran body in this period of sectarianism that came from beyond the Alleghenies to help rescue the immigrants in Baltimore. The Evangelical Synod of Missouri and other States found a field in Baltimore also. The Missouri Synod's work, like that of the Joint Synod, began with the small communities outside the boundaries of the City. As early as 1850, two years after the first Ohio Synod congregation was begun, we have the first Missouri Synod congregation. It was at Kingsville,

out the Jerusalem Road from the Bel Air Road. Then in fairly rapid succession came five others. Here is the list:

1850 - St. Paul, Kingsville, Md.
1850 - St. John, Blenheim, Md. North of Lock Raven Reservoir.
1864 - Immanuel, on Caroline St., now at Lock Raven and Belvedere.
1866 - St. Paul, Old Frederick Road and Lee. Near Catonsville.
1868 - Martini, Sharp and Henrietta Streets. South Baltimore.

While the Ohio and Missouri Synods were adding these nine new congregations to the total of Lutheranism in Baltimore and vicinity, the Maryland Synod of the General Synod continued to operate in the heart of the City and, largely through the initiative of Dr. Morris, added ten new congregations, as follows:

1839 - Trinity, Fel's Point, McElderry and Port Sts. (Now called "Trinity East").
1839 - Second, Lombard Street
1842 - Third, Gay Street, South of Monument.
1842 - Jerusalem, Gardenville, out the Bel Air Road.
1849 - St. Stephen's, Hanover and Hamburg Streets. South Baltimore
1849 - Salem, Catonsville
1855 - St. John's, Sweet Air Rd., Phoenix, transferred to Ohio Synod in 1891
1856 - St. Paul, Lutherville
1860 - St. Mark's, Eutaw Street, now at St. Paul's and 20th Sts.
1872 - St. Paul's, Druid Hill Avenue and McMechen Street, "in Northwest Baltimore", "up town"

Of these ten new congregations, only four, Jerusalem, St. Stephen's, Salem, and Trinity, provided services in German. And nearly everywhere the relations between the German-speaking element and the English-speaking element were difficult.

To summarize we may record that during this period of forty years, while the population of the City and its environs was growing more than threefold, the number of Lutheran congregations grew ninefold, from two (still counting Old Zion) to nineteen.

The next period in our history, from 1870 to 1910, was a period of phenomenal economic growth. This new economy influenced profoundly the general trend of politics and religion. For one thing, the country's population multiplied by 2-1/2, i.e. increased from forty millions to ninety-three millions. Nearly half of this increase was due to immigration. By the turn of the century the annual number of immigrants passed the million mark. The major source of these immigrants was no longer from central and northern Europe but from southern and eastern Europe, and instead of settling down chiefly to agriculture in the Middle West and Northwest, the new immigrant, with his illiteracy and low standards of living, helped to increase the crowded conditions of the cities. The large-city population of the nation increased during these forty years from twenty per cent of the national population to forty-six per cent. The population of Baltimore was more than doubled, from 267,000 to 560,000.

During this period the wealth of the nation multiplied four times as rapidly as the population, i.e. it was multiplied by ten. But while wealth increased and expanded in this era of industrialism, it also consolidated into huge corporations, so that nine-tenths of the wealth of the nation was concentrated in the hands of one-tenth of the people. Great multitudes of people were worse off

than their fathers had been, and one-fifth of the nation was in a constant state of poverty. This produced a high wave of social unrest. The trades unions organized into the strong American Federation of Labor, and war was declared between labor and capital. The fight was carried into legislative halls and into the national Congress. And, of course, it involved deeply the people in the Christian churches.

Now the churches also were growing in number and in size. The church population grew more than twice as rapidly as the general population. In 1870 eighteen per cent of the population were in churches; in 1910 it was forty-three per cent. In other words, church membership grew from six and a half millions to thirty-five millions.

At the same time the growing complexity of American society confronted the churches with special problems. The immense stream of immigration and the changing character of the immigration raised a score of problems. Roman Catholics received the largest number of the newcomers, but Lutherans were a close second. All the churches were involved in the problems arising out of the congested foreign quarters in the cities, the discouraging condition of "downtown churches", the abandoned country churches, the problems of language, and the sudden migrations from older to newer states. The growing wealth of the nation was reflected in the externalities of the churches. A new spirit of stewardship and enterprise was awakened, and more stately church buildings began to replace the older ones. The gospel enterprise created a multitude of organizations within the congregations and the church bodies, committees, societies, boards, leagues, unions, and other specialized groups, covering both sexes and every stage of human life, for study, for prayer and praise, for service, applying to every sort of human need and aimed at every habitation of man, to cultivate every virtue and fight every vice. The special characteristics of the preceding period, its ill will, its jealousies and its hostilities were greatly relaxed and there was a great longing for toleration among Christians. Denominational consolidations began to appear, and in this process Lutherans took the lead.

In Baltimore, as in other large cities, slums began to manifest themselves like carbuncles on the metropolitan body. Also, ecological cleavages took place, with separate sections of the metropolis for Catholics, and Jews, and Negroes, and German Protestants, and for other language groups. This phenomenon is of particular interest for our study of present-day Baltimore.

During the early years of the period now under review (1870-1910) the Lutheran churches of Baltimore were troubled with the problem of the German language, and for a short time there was a schism in the ranks of the Maryland Synod on this issue. The immigration of the preceding period had left a heavy deposit of German-speaking Lutherans in Baltimore and vicinity. In the inner city they concentrated in South Baltimore in an area that would be described by a radius of (say) half a mile from the intersection of Hanover and Hamburg Streets. Many of them were in the meat industry and many of them in brewing. While their transition to English was accomplished with far less disturbance than was the case among the synods of Pennsylvania and those farther west, nevertheless there were two schools of thought among these Germans as to the better way to exercise their influence and perpetuate their traditions. Some of them contended that they should remain in close association with the English brethren and try to be a saving salt, while others insisted that they must form a separate organization or they would be swallowed up by the prevailing lax and un-Lutheran tendencies.

In the early seventies, therefore, the Maryland Synod organized a German Conference in the hope of attracting the German people, holding them to the General Synod, and slowly achieving their Americanization. But this did not long satisfy all of the German pastors. They wanted greater freedom of action in applying home mission funds and in examining and ordaining the young German candidates for the ministry. At the meeting of the Maryland Synod in 1874, four Baltimore pastors, Maier, Schloegel, Mengert, and Ebeling, together with Reitz of Hagerstown, Conradi of Cumberland, and Stumpf of Frostburg, petitioned Synod for honorable dismissal in order to form the German Synod of Maryland and the South. The petition was granted, because it was known that the new synod would join the General Synod, and it was also known that the Evangelische Synode von Nord-Amerika (Prussian Union) would be happy to embrace the petitioners if the Maryland Synod was unfriendly. The German Synod was organized. It was joined by three additional pastors from Baltimore, Sickel, Beer, and Schwartz, and it centered in this City. The new little synod was admitted to the General Synod in 1875. But two years later it had been disbanded.

The German Synod failed for two reasons. First, the most influential German pastors in the Maryland Synod refused to join it. Such were Dr. Hennighausen of St. Stephen's, editor of the Kirchenfreund, the organ of all the Germans in the General Synod; Pastor Brandau, also of Baltimore; Pastor Reitz and Finckel of Washington, and Ide of Annapolis, and Young of Accident. The second and more important cause of the failure of the German Synod was the aggressiveness of the Evangelical Synod of North America, which put forth its best men as candidates for the German Lutheran churches of the Baltimore area, and captured one after another of the congregations of the little German body. Pastor Schmidt once told me that "these invaders did not hesitate to employ questionable methods", and he gave specific instances and details. It is to be regretted that the leaders in the Maryland Synod at that time did not understand the position and problems of the German and that they did not detect the un-Lutheran character of the Evangelical Synod. For years in succession the Maryland Synod welcomed a fraternal delegate from the Evangelical Synod. This was always the same person, the talented, eloquent and persuasive Edward Huber of St. Matthew's Church. He convinced the English-speaking leaders of the Maryland Synod that when German congregations became vacant they should seek pastors from the Evangelical Synod rather than let them go to the Joint Synod of Ohio or the Missouri Synod. Many of these congregations, once Lutheran, are now in the United Church of Christ.

Another outstanding development in this period, and one that is significant for our present study, was the long leap forward of the Catholic element in Baltimore. I have referred to the fact the European immigrants of this period were largely of Catholic background and that most of them made their homes in the cities. The Catholics of Baltimore were alert to their opportunities and doubled their efforts to take care of their own. The Catholic immigrants had settled predominantly in the eastern sector of the City. The American Catholic Church had to make many adjustments to meet the economic and ecological situations that confronted it in the metropolitan area, but the adjustments were made and the Catholic Church grew from sixteen parishes in 1870 to forty-six in 1910. This means that while the city population as a whole was growing about two-and-one-half fold, the Catholic membership was increasing almost threefold.

Moreover, this was the era when the towering personality of James Cardinal Gibbons dominated the landscape of Catholicism in Baltimore and, indeed, of all America. He made Baltimore into what some have called "the Rome of the Western world". More than any of his predecessors or successors he sought to adapt

Roman Catholicism to America and to create a distinct "American Catholicism". Thus he succeeded in making the Catholic Church an influence not only in the religious life of the City but also in its politics and its cultural life. This influence went far beyond the relative number of Catholics. Gibbons became cardinal in 1877, and through his influence the immigrants were brought into the church in large numbers. And not only so, but when the so-called "ring-towns" of Negroes began to elbow their way into white residential sections in the eastern and southern sections of the City, the Catholic churches stayed there to serve the new communities and to gather in their neighbors. Their welfare agencies far surpassed those of Protestants, not only in number but also in efficiency. Great influence was exerted also through their four general hospitals and their three special hospitals, their four protective institutions (two for boys and two for girls), their four homes for the aged, and their twelve orphanages.

Similar to the developments among the Catholics in this period, though on a smaller scale and in a smaller degree, were the developments among the Jew in the predominantly Jewish area in the western part of the City.

Meanwhile the Lutherans and the other white Protestants, with a few notable exceptions, moved into the more exclusive residential sections to the North and to the suburban areas, and built themselves more commodious and more elegant churches.

One more development before 1910 bears directly upon the general subject of our inquiry here. I refer to the organization of local denominational agencies to promote the expansion of Lutheranism in Baltimore.

The first and most effective of these was organized by the pastors and congregations of the Maryland Synod. It was begun in 1887 on the initiative of Dr. Charles S. Albert, pastor of St. Mark's Church, then on Eutaw Street. It was called The Lutheran Church Extension Society of Baltimore and vicinity. Several of the Lutheran congregations were planning at that time to move from the heart of the City to the edge of it, chiefly to the northern section. Moreover, Baltimore City was about to be enlarged by annexation. Until that time the northern boundary of the City had been North Avenue (then known as Boundary Avenue); its eastern boundary was (roughly) Greenmount Avenue; its southern was the waterfront; and its western (roughly) Monroe Street. Within these bounds there were seven Maryland Synod congregations and one struggling mission. But now the northern and western boundaries of the City were to be moved out several miles and a vast territory was to be opened for the development of new homes. Several Lutheran pastors felt that something ought to be done to care for the Lutheran people who would be moving into the new areas. The result was the Church Extension Society.

When the Society was incorporated in 1890, the charter stated that it was organized "for the benevolent object and purpose of aiding in the establishment of new Lutheran congregations in Baltimore City and assisting in the extinguishment of the debts resting on the buildings of Lutheran Mission buildings already established in said City and its vicinity". The Society and its work were maintained by voluntary contributions from Lutheran individuals and Lutheran congregations in the City. Laymen were always prominent in the offices of the organization.

For nearly half a century this Church Extension Society was the prime factor in the expansion of Baltimore Lutheranism and the promotion of Lutheran congregations in the metropolitan area. It not only secured funds to make surveys and to assist new-born congregations, but it also introduced a semblance of order in

the location of new congregations and the relocation of older ones. Not a few of the Lutheran congregations that have now grown to great strength worshipped for a year or so in the portable chapel which the Extension Society owned and transported from field to field. Moreover, by its annual fellowship dinners and its public meetings, for example, its annual Reformation Service, it stimulated loyalty among Lutherans to all the causes of the Church, promoted the spirit of stewardship, and compelled the attention and respect of other Christian churches.

During the first fifty years of the Church Extension Society the number of Maryland Synod congregations in Baltimore increased from seven to thirty-eight. In nearly every case the new congregations were helped into existence and maintained in their infancy by the Extension Society. The most important committee serving the Society was its Missionary Committee. This Committee was constantly on the alert for population trends in the metropolitan area, and it usually secured funds to survey possible areas and to organize a congregation where the findings of the surveys seemed to warrant it. For this purpose the Society spent before 1930 a total of $43,000 in outright gifts, and this does not include special loans in emergency situations. In 1930 the Society adopted the policy of making no more outright appropriations but only loans to be without interest if repaid within a limited time and thus to create a revolving fund. The Society rarely made appropriations or loans in amounts over $3000.

For our purpose here it is interesting to observe the policy that guided the Extension Society in locating its congregations. Repeatedly it sought to assess social and ecological changes in the metropolitan area and even to forecast such changes. While it expressed concern for "Lutheran people" or "our people" who needed church facilities, it did sometimes refer to the unchurched population in general. It scrutinized ecological changes and in some cases helped Lutheran congregations to remove from "undesirable neighborhoods", as they were called. It helped to establish the Salem Hebrew Mission, but only once, so far as the record goes, did the Society refer to Negroes. It was in 1940 when the report of the President said that the "colored population" of Baltimore was 150,000 and that there was not a single ULCA congregation among them. But there was no recommendation on this matter and nothing was done about it.

In relation to the congregations of the Joint Synod of Ohio and, after 1930, the American Lutheran Church, the Extension Society always operated on terms of courtesy and amity. But more than once it was argued in favor of establishing a new congregation in a certain location that Missouri is already there. Slowly, however, a more enlightened policy was evolved, both towards Missouri on the one hand and towards non-Lutheran Protestants on the other, and in 1926 the President of the Society recorded the policy in these words: "It is our present policy to locate our churches on main thoroughfares or other prominent locations", and "to see that no new mission is started where a nearby church could serve the community making the request." At the same time the Society cooperated with Committee on Comity set up by the Council of Churches and Christian Education of Maryland and Delaware. Was it because the Executive Director of the Council of Churches at that time was a minister of the ULCA and regularly attended the meetings of the local Society?

After about 1930 the fine work of the Extension Society gradually diminished. Increasingly its functions were assumed by the Maryland Synod's Committee on Home Missions, and then by the ULCA's Board of American Missions. Funds for the purposes of the Society were no longer secured by voluntary contributions and administered by local persons; they were secured through apportionments levied by the

Gaylord

ULCA and the Maryland Synod, contributions to benevolence in the abstract. Moreover, the economic depression of the 1930's prevented the establishment of any new congregations for a period of fourteen years. In vain did the officers of the Extension Society make repeated and urgent appeals for funds. In vain did they seek to attract attention by expanding the purpose of the Society to include assistance in all the causes of the ULCA and to participate in a local Institute on Social Action. Local interest in the work of the Society continued to fade, and no meetings have been held since 1955.

It should be recorded here that the congregations of the Ohio Synod also had a society to assist in organizing missions for the people of that body. It began about 1890 and was called "The Baltimore City Mission Society". It seems to have operated in much the same manner as the Extension Society, but until 1900 chiefly among German-speaking residents. It seems probable that the Ohio Mission Society and the local work of Missouri Lutherans in the interest of church extension were from the beginning more largely under the direction of church headquarters in Ohio and Missouri than the Extension Society was with reference to the Maryland Synod or the General Synod. I have been unable to secure detailed information about these activities. It is possible, however, to record impressive increase in the number of congregations established in this period by Ohio and Missouri. Between 1870 and 1910, at least sixteen congregations were added by Ohio and ten by Missouri.

Let us take a rapid glance at the dates and locations of these new congregations in all three of the general Lutheran bodies. I set them down chronologically, but at the same time I call attention to the changing geography, because it is significant for our purpose to know how the Lutheran pastors and people of Baltimore during this period thought the City should be dotted with Lutheran congregations and church buildings. It may help us understand how we came into the situation in which we find ourselves today.

The new congregations belonging to the Maryland Synod are as follows:

1875 - First, Ellicott City
1883 - St. Luke's, Hampden, Baltimore County, now at 36th & Chestnut.
1885 - Grace, Broadway and Gough Street
1885 - Salem, Battery Ave. and Randall St., the Ev. Synod of N. America until 1905, independent, 1905-1915; Md. Synod since 1915.
1887 - Christ, Hill and Light Streets
1887 - St. John's, Parkville (Ev. Synod North America; 1918, Md. Synod).
1889 - Messiah, Potomac and O'Donnell Sts., Canton, East Balto.
1890 - Reformation, Caroline and Lanvale Sts., Northeast section. Now at 6300 Lock Raven Boulevard.
1891 - Our Savior, Lansdowne, just south of southeast boundary.
1892 - St. John's, Sparrow's Point, Patapsco River front, southeast of city boundary.
1894 - Trinity, West, Fulton Ave. and Pratt St., midwestern section of inner city, now W. Baltimore St., just south of Monroe.
1895 - Calvary, North Ave. and Payson St., northwestern section of inner city.
1899 - Friedens, Chester near Orleans St., eastern section of inner city. From Ev. Synod of N. America.
1902 - Our Savior, Garrison Boulevard and Greenland Avenue, West Arlington, northwestern section.
1903 - Incarnation, Madison Avenue, near North Avenue, section between Jones' Falls and Pennsylvania Avenue. (Merged with First Church, 1927)

1905 - Emmanuel, East Baltimore St. and Potomac St., Southeast Baltimore
1907 - St. Paul's, Mt. Winan's, 2111 Annapolis Ave., Southwest Baltimore; Services begun by Ohio Synod about 1890.
1908 - Bethany, Bond St. near Eastern Ave., now Lakewood Ave. and Madison St., East Baltimore.
German, then 1862 to Md. Synod
1904 all English (present name); independent;
1905 Md. Synod again.
1908 - St. John's, Park Heights, Pimlico, north northeast.
1908 - Epiphany, Bel Air Avenue, northeast city.
1910 - Augsburg, Walbrook, 2610 Garrison Blvd., northwestern part of city.

All told, twenty-one congregations were added to the Maryland Synod during these four decades. During the first decade there was only one new congregation, and then during the remaining thirty years there was an average of about two new congregations every two years. In location these congregations ranged about evenly over the entire map of the City as enlarged in 1890.

Turning now to a list of the Joint Synod of Ohio congregations begun between 1870 and 1910, we have (in addition to the four of the preceding period):

1873 - Trinity, Joppa
1875 - St. Peter's, Fayette and East Sts. (1905, to North Ave. and Aiken St.; 1942, to Northwood, Loch Raven Blvd.)
1886 - St. Paul's, Aberdeen
1890 - Martin Luther, Patterson Park and Orleans St.
1890 - St. Philip's (Negro), 501 N. Caroline St.
1891 - St. John's, Phoenix, begun 1855 by Md. Synod
1892 - St. Luke's, Redland, Derwood, Parkville, northeastern boundary
1893 - Faith, 1900 East North Ave., now North Ave. and Wolfe St.
1894 - St. James, Hanover and Hamburg Sts., south Baltimore
1896 - St. John's, Ellicott City
1900 - St. Paul's, Pratt and Clinton Sts., Highlandtown area.
1903 - Grace, Harford Rd. and Strathmore Ave., now Harford Rd. and Batavia St., Hamilton area.
1903 - St. Peter's, Colgate (now East Point), now Eastern Ave. and North Point Boulevard.
1908 - St. Paul's, Fullerton (earlier Md. Synod)
1908 - Christ, Elvaton, south of City, Anne Arundel County

All of the congregations of the Ohio Synod organized since 1900 were organized as English-speaking congregations. For a few years the Baltimore Mission Society carried on Inner Mission work in addition to church extension work, but since 1915 the Ohio Synod has cooperated with the local Lutheran Inner Mission Society, and so the Baltimore Mission Society has continued to operate as an extension society and is responsible for most of the Ohio Synod and ALC churches organized here during the last half century.

It will be observed that while the twenty-one congregations organized by the Maryland Synod group during this period were fairly evenly scattered over the metropolitan area, the fifteen congregations of the Ohio Synod were gathered in the eastern and southeastern sections of the area. If one were to draw a line due north and south through a point only a few blocks west of City Hall, one would find all the congregations of the Ohio Synod, all except three, east of that line. This is explained largely by the fact that the German-speaking Lutherans for the most part had settled in those sections.

Gaylord

The Missouri Synod congregations begun in this period, ten in number, were located for the most part in the southwestern section of the metropolitan area. After the five congregations established for Missouri before 1870, new ones came in this order:

1888 - Emanuel, Ingleside at Craigmont, near Edmundson Avenue, West.
1889 - St. Thomas, S. Pulaski St., West.
1892 - Our Savior, 33rd and the Alamada, North east.
1898 - Redeemer, Vermont near Augusta, West Southwest.
1898 - Bethany, 1022 Haverhill Road (Violettville)
1903 - Bethlehem, 4815 Hamilton Avenue, East.
1904 - Christ, Dundalk, Southeast
1908 - Nazareth, Bank and Highland, Highlandtown, Southeast
1908 - St. Paul, Glen Burnie
1908 - St. James, Overlea and Spruce, Northeast.

In the very middle of the period now under review we can record the beginning of a Lutheran congregation of Scandinavians. Among the Scandinavian immigrants who came to American after the Civil War, large numbers remained in the large cities in the East, where they could exercise their technical skills. Baltimore received less than her quota of these fine people, but enough to call for services of worship that were neither in German nor English.

So in 1889 Augustana Church was organized just southeast of Hopkins Hospital. In 1945 it removed farther east to Brehm's Lane and Minnesota Avenue. At first it was served by Norwegian pastors but in 1894 the congreation became a member of the Swedish Evangelical Augustana Synod, and since then it has been served by pastors from that body. During its first fifty years it used Scandinavian languages and never had more than fifty members, but when it changed its location in 1945, it removed the Scandinavian name from its title, and expressed its purpose to serve its entire community irrespective of nationality, and today it has a baptized membership of about 800.

Coming now to our last period, the five decades between 1910 and 1960, we observe that in many respects this period resembles the second half of the preceding period. Many of the characteristics of the period of industrialism continued and Baltimore Lutherans came to be more and more deeply involved in them: the rapid growth of population, the pushing back of the City's boundaries on all sides, the rapid development of suburban areas, the increasing contrast between the "haves" and the "have-nots", the continuing deterioration of certain sections of the City, the creeping invasion of ecological groups, especially Jews and Negroes, the relative increase in the number of Catholics and their disproportionate growth in power, the multiplying of social problems in all groups and classes, the problems of the "downtown church", and the plight of the white and his flight from the blight. All these conditions, begun already at the turn of the century, continued steadily and with increased pace to the middle of the present century.

The population of the City increased from 560,000 in 1910 to more than a million in 1950. The City limits were pushed back once again in 1920, this time two to four miles in each direction. This included more waterfront in wards 25 on the south and 26 on the east, and more of Baltimore County in wards 27 on the north and 28 on the west. The church population increased to nearly fifty per cent of the total. The Catholics in 1960 numbered slightly more than the Protestants, approximately 52% Catholics and 48% Protestants. The largest number of Catholics was crowded into wards 1, 2, and 3, on the Back River and the neighboring wards 6 and 7, and in ward 26 in the new section on the East. The Jews concentrated in ward 15 in the northwestern corner of the Old City and in the

northwestern sections of the new City in wards 27 and 28.

Among the Protestants, Methodists were numerically the strongest, Lutherans next, then Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Baptists. They were not concentrated in any one section but were scattered all over the City, and almost everywhere they had become unstable because of the swiftly changing ecological situation. Because of the Southern flavor in Baltimore culture her Protestant church people, more than in other cities, were quick to retreat before the advance of the colored population. The technological advances, the economic changes, and the two world wars had imparted to the American people in general a high degree of mobility, and one result of this was that the Negroes of Baltimore, strongly reinforced by migrations from the Southern states, began to move up from the waterfront and the southern sections into every part of the old City, particularly the southwestern and western sections. In some places they formed what were called "ringtowns", ghettos for Africans, as it were, and in some of them, it is said, social conditions are worse than in the slums of New York and Chicago.

With the increase of "undesirable neighborhoods", as they were called, there was also in this period an increased tempo in the migration of the Lutheran congregations to suburbia. Nearly all of the congregations that were born in the old City before 1880 now moved their churches "up town", all except Old Zion, Old Trinity, Martini, and St. Stephen's. The list of migrant churches includes First, Second, Third, St. Mark's, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's.

Early in this period, during the 1930's, Lutherans as a total confessional family in America came to a position of wide recognition and high responsibility among the Christian forces of the world, a power to be reckoned with, a Christian group that could be counted on. This was due to several factors: the increase of speed in the process of Americanization that had taken place since the beginning of the century; second, the startling record of American Lutherans for their men in the services of the country during World War I and especially for post-war Europe; third, the formation of larger units of organization, such as the ELC in 1917, the ULCA in 1918, and the ALC in 1930; fourth, the formation of the National Lutheran Council in 1918 as a platform of energetic cooperation for two-thirds of all Lutherans in America; and fifth, the swift change in the late twenties and early thirties in the theological atmosphere of America. Suddenly Lutherans came out of their shells. They stood up and shook off their inferiority complex. The iron ring of contempt that had been forged around them was broken. The "conspiracy of silence" was dissolved.

The work of church extension by Lutherans went on apace, using the same agencies and methods as in the preceding period. During the last half century the Maryland Synod congregations have increased by nineteen:

1911 - Holy Comforter, Goranstown
1913 - Zion, Hamilton area
1916 - Atonement, Preston and Poplar Grove Streets
1916 - St. John's, Brooklyn
1917 - Luther Memorial, Univ. Pkwy and Guilford Ave., 1931 moved to 5401 Eastern Ave., southeastern section
1919 - St. John's, Linthicum Heights
1921 - Ascension, 30th Street and Hillen Road
1922 - All Saints, Edmundson Ave. and Lyndhurst
1924 - St. Timothy, Dundalk, southeast of City at boundary
1927 - Redeemer, Gwynn Oak Park, northwest section of City

Gaylord

1928 - Prince of Peace, 8212 Philadelphia Road, east of City
1942 - Ascension, 7601 York Road, north
1947 - Emmanuel, Stoney Creek, Anne Arundel County
1953 - Gethsemane, Wilkens Ave. and Courtney Rd., southwest of old city line
1953 - Old Zion, (rejoined Md. Synod)
1953 - St. Andrew's, Taylor and Hillsway Avenues, north of City line
1957 - Redeemer, Glen Burnie
1957 - Magotha - Chelsea, Magotha Beach, Pasadena
1958 - Christus Victor, 9833 Harford Road, northeast of City
1958 - Our Shepherd, Severna Park, Anne Arundel County

It will be observed that, out of the nineteen new congregations that began during these fifty years, eleven began during the first twenty years (one every two years) while only eight began during the last thiry years (one about every three and one-half years). This is a startling decline in the pace of establishing new congregations. Was it because the policy of church extension was no longer in the hands of local Lutheran pastors and laymen but was determined by ULCA authorities in New York? Moreover, four Maryland Synod congregations disappeared during this period: Incarnation (1903) was merged with First Church in 1927; Atonement (1916) was merged with St. Paul's in 1919; Concordia was lost to the Evangelical Synod in 1927; and Ascension (1921) was merged with Third Church in 1927. It was partial compensation for these losses that Old Zion in 1953 rejoined the Maryland Synod after an absence of 110 years. So there has been a net gain in this half century of fifteen Maryland Synod congregations.

The congregations of the Ohio Synod (merged in 1930 with Iowa and Buffalo into the American Lutheran Church) increased during this period by ~~thirteen~~ fifteen fourteen as follows:

1913 - St. John's, 501 Franklin Ave., Essex, east of City on Back River
1914 - St. Luke's, Dundalk (then "New Pittsburgh") southeast of City
1918 - Christ, 5700 Edmundson Ave. and Payson St., western edge of City, Catonsville — 1927 > St. Luke, 7001-11 Harford Road
1947 - Good Shepherd, Dundalk
1947 - First of Gray Manor, 312 Oakwood Road, east of City boundary, near Dundalk
1952 - Bethel, North East, Md.
1954 - Hope, Middleborough and Annette Roads, east of City on Middle River
1954 - St. Timothy, Timonium, north of City
1955 - Holy Trinity, 4000 Sinclair Road
1955 - Glen Lutheran, Glen Burnie, south of City
1956 - Holy Trinity, Laurel, northeastern part of City, Gardenville
1958 - Peace, Glen Burnie, south of City
1960 - Divinity, Towson, north of City

It will be observed that after the formation of the ULCA in 1918, the Ohio Synod established ~~no~~ only one new congregations in the metropolitan area for thirty years or until 1947, when the Church of the Good Shepherd began at Dundalk. Moreover, all of the ten congregations established since 1918, only two are within the City boundaries. It is clear that whatever element of competition may have existed between the American Lutheran Church and the General Synod in this area was pretty well extinguished with the formation of the ULCA.

And the Missouri Synod added the following congregations in this period:

1911 - Messiah, Cross and Cleveland, South Baltimore
1915 - Calvary, Old Harford Road and Hamilton, now Northern Parkway, northeastern part of the City
1924 - Pilgrim, Milford, out Liberty Heights Road
1927 - Holy Nativity, Linden and Highview, near Arbutus, southwestern part of City
1936 - Resurrection, Hammonds Lane
1936 - St. Matthew, 1901 Druid Hill Avenue, near North Avenue
1942 - First of Odenton, south of City
1945 - First of Towson, north of City
1947 - St. Paul's, Gambrills
1949 - Mt. Olive, Bel Air and Cliftmont, Clifton Park, eastern by northeastern part of City
1952 - Holy Cross, Towson, 8516 Loch Raven Blvd., north of City
1954 - St. Paul, Annapolis
1956 - St. Matthew, 405 Churchville, Bel Air, northeast of City
1956 - Faith, Eastern Ave. and Martin Blvd., Middle River, east of City
1958 - Berea, Oliver and Collington

These fifteen congregations were established at average intervals of three years. Again we note a great lag in the rate of expansion between 1927 and 1945, when only three new congregations were added.

In summary, then, in 1960 we have in the metropolitan area of Baltimore and Vicinity:

Lutheran congregations	112
Baptized members	84,665

Distribution among general Lutheran bodies:

United Lutheran Church	49
Baptized members	50,997
The American Lutheran Churches	32
Baptized members	20,522
Missouri Synod Churches	30
Baptized members	12,346
Augustana Lutheran Church	1
Baptized members	800

Meanwhile the sense of common interest among Baltimore Lutherans of all bodies has been constantly on the increase. The spirit of harmony and accord, consciously and unconsciously, has been growing apace. Shakespeare would have said: "It grew by what it fed on", and it fed on the new status of Lutherans, the third largest Protestant denomination in America, the second largest in Baltimore where it is surpassed only by the Methodists. Today in Baltimore as elsewhere our voice is heard with respect and our judgments as never before are accorded real weight.

This spirit of accommodation and cooperation among all Lutherans of Baltimore and vicinity has also grown through local events and organizations. There is the Lutheran Ministers' Conference, with its regular quarterly programs, its Reformation Festival, and its social occasions. There is the Baltimore Lutheran

Gaylord

Inner Mission, Incorporated, with its various meetings and appeals, and its Women's Auxiliary, and its hospices. And last but not least, here is this prospective study and analysis of Lutheranism in the Baltimore area in our day.

Certainly the times are ripe for this new enterprise, and this historical sketch should help to make that clear: (1) our total aggregate strength (more than statistics reveal) among the Christian forces here, - a tower of strength that has been built through more than two centuries and is now so seriously threatened by secularism and other adverse forces; (2) the great numbers of problems that confront us as Evangelical Lutherans, problems so great and complex that they cannot be solved separately by any of the Lutheran groups; (3) the crying need for our united voice and our united effort in the face of an increasingly aggressive Catholicism and especially in the face of rampart materialism and paganism. Let us turn our faces to the future and with the light of this history shining over our shoulders and illuminating the way that lies ahead, let us march forward unitedly and confidently and in the name of the Lord in whatever direction this study under the guidance of the Holy Spirit may direct our feet.